



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



•

•

•

•

•





THE LIFE
OF
ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D.

BY
GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D.,
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF JOHN WILSON, D.D., F.R.S.,"
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL
SOCIETIES, ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH PORTRAITS BY JEENS.

VOL. II.



London:
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,
27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXXIX.

[The right of translation is reserved.]

210. n. 140.

Butler & Tanner,
The Selwood Printing Works,
Frome, and London.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XVI.	
1843-1844.	PAGES
MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND . . .	1-45
CHAPTER XVII.	
1844-1848.	
CONTINUITY OF THE WORK	46-83
CHAPTER XVIII.	
1844-1849.	
LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION.—"THE CALCUTTA REVIEW".	84-111
CHAPTER XIX.	
1849-1850.	
DEATH OF DR. CHALMERS.—TOUR THROUGH SOUTH INDIA. —HOME BY THE GANGES AND INDUS	112-170
CHAPTER XX.	
1850-1853.	
DR. DUFF ORGANIZING AGAIN	171-222
CHAPTER XXI.	
1851-1854.	
MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—BEFORE THE HOUSE OF LORDS' INDIA COMMITTEE	223-250
CHAPTER XXII.	
1854-1855.	
IN AMERICA AND CANADA.—SECOND FAREWELL TO CHRIS- TENDOM	251-306

CHAPTER XXIII.	
1856-1858.	PAGES
THE MUTINY AND THE NATIVE CHURCH OF INDIA . . .	307-354
CHAPTER XXIV.	
1858-1863.	
LAST YEARS IN INDIA	355-395
CHAPTER XXV.	
1864-1867.	
IN SOUTH-EAST AFRICA.—THE MISSIONARY PROPAGANDA .	396-423
CHAPTER XXVI.	
1867-1878.	
NEW MISSIONS AND THE RESULTS OF HALF A CENTURY'S WORK	424-464
CHAPTER XXVII.	
1865-1878.	
DR. DUFF AT HOME	465-494
CHAPTER XXVIII.	
1877-1878.	
PEACEMAKING	495-518
CHAPTER XXIX.	
1877-1878.	
DYING	519-542
INDEX	543-553

 ILLUSTRATIONS.

DR. DUFF AT SIXTY	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
INDIA	<i>To face page</i> 127
LAKE NYASSA AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA	460

LIFE
OF
ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D., LL.D.

CHAPTER XVI.

1843-1844.

MISSIONARY OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Power of Youth.—Spiritual Independence and the People of Scotland.—Torpor of the Ministers for a century and a quarter.—Anecdotes from Dr. Duff's experience.—On Robert Burns.—Reproving an Officer for Profanity.—Sir Charles Napier.—Sir Robert Peel rebuked.—Duff's public silence on the Disruption Controversy.—Appeals from Dr. Brunton and Dr. Charles J. Brown.—All the Missionaries adhere to the Church of Scotland Free.—Dr. Duff's "Explanatory Statement."—A critical time.—The Disruption in Calcutta.—Dr. Simon Nicolson.—Messrs. Hawkins, M. Wylie and A. B. Mackintosh.—The Free Church in Calcutta.—Dr. Duff's four Lectures.—Lord Brougham and Gibbon.—Duff describes the Disruption.—Free Church resolves to extend Foreign Missions.—The Property Wrong.—Sympathy of all Evangelical Churches.—Duff's disinterestedness.—Opening of the General Assembly's Institution of the Free Church of Scotland.—A Professorship of Missions urged.

NOT only is the world the heritage of the young, as has been said. The young make the world what it is. Dr. Duff had really done his work in India when he was twenty-eight; he had, apparently, completed its parallel side in Great Britain when he was thirty-three; he had consolidated the whole sys-

tem, and he saw it bearing rare spiritual as well as moral and intellectual fruit before he was thirty-seven. So, in the same field of reformation, Luther and Melancthon in Germany, Pascal and Calvin in France, Wesley and Simeon in England, and Chalmers in Scotland had sowed the seed and reaped the early harvests while still within the age which Augustine pronounces the "culmen" and Dante the "key of the arch" of life. Dr. Duff might have spent the rest of his career in quietly developing the principles and extending the machinery of his system on its India and Scottish sides, but for two forces, in Church and State, which the shrewdest took long to foresee. His Kirk had to work its way back to the purity and spiritual independence of covenanting times—a process in which all the Churches of Europe are following it, from Italy and Germany to France and Ireland—and in so working it became broken into two. And the Afghan War was to prove only the first act in the prelude to the history of British India. That prelude closed in the Sepoy Mutiny. That history fairly began with the too rapid obliteration of the military and political system by which the old East India Company had brought the empire to the birth and had reared it into a vigorous childhood.

Foreign Missions being of no ecclesiastical party but the privilege of all, we have seen how Dr. Duff, during his first visit to Scotland, had kept aloof from even the most vital controversies. To him, as charged with the conversion of a hundred and thirty millions of human beings, Whig or Tory, Voluntary or State Churchman, even "Intrusionist" or "Non-Intrusionist" were of little account save in so far as they could promote or hinder his one object. Even in India, on his return in 1840, he was so silent regarding his relation to parties and the course he

would follow if a rupture took place, that some doubted how he would act. In truth, the approaching cataclysm so weighed him down, in reference to its effects on his own mission, that he refrained from speech, in public, till the issue should be fairly put before him and his colleagues for decisive settlement. But not one of the clerical combatants in the thick of the fight knew its meaning, historical and spiritual, better than the missionary. His youth had been overshadowed by the "cloud of witnesses." His heroes had ever been the men of the Covenant. His hatred was that of the patriot rather than of the priest, to the Stewarts who, down to the last act in Queen Anne's time, had robbed the Kirk and its people of spiritual freedom. He waited only for the right time, the time of duty to the Mission as well as to his principles, to declare himself with an energy and an uncompromising thoroughness, hardly equalled by the ecclesiastical leaders who headed the host of disruption heroes on the memorable eighteenth day of May, 1843.

But not only had the education of the Highland boy, under such a father and teacher as his, early fed his young life with the history of his Kirk, which is that of his country. In his three years' wanderings over every presbytery and almost every parish of Scotland, from the Shetland Isles to the Solway, he had become acquainted with the actual state of religious and social life in a way unknown to Chalmers or the young Guthrie, or the most experienced Lowlander of the time. To the highest test which can try a Christian or a Church, the Christ-like philanthropy of missions, he had jealously brought the Church of Scotland from 1834 to 1840, its ministers and people, its parties and their professions, its policy and aims. He thus learned, as no one else could, the wrong, religious

and political, done to the country by the dishonest legislation of Queen Anne's advisers all through the eighteenth century, even to the Reform Act in the State and the Veto Law in the Kirk. And a happy experience taught him, and Chalmers through him, that the heart of the people was sound in spite of the torpor and retrogression of a century and a quarter, that the Scotsmen of 1834-43 were the true spiritual descendants of their fathers of the first and the second Reformation. This had been his experience of the ministers of the "moderate party," who had formed the majority in the Kirk down to the year 1834 and who called in the civil courts to drive out the evangelical majority ten years after.

Dr. Duff was wont to declare that, personally, he had received everywhere at their hands the most courteous and friendly treatment, with the two exceptions of Peebles and Dunbar. Seeing that he kept his cause and himself aloof from parties, Moderates as well as Evangelicals invited him to their manses, placed their conveyances at his disposal, passed him on from presbytery to presbytery, and loyally obeyed the Assembly of 1835 in promoting meetings and subscriptions. The majority of the moderate ministers he found to be farmers and politicians, whose conversation was divided between agricultural talk and political criticism. "But," he once said, "I do not remember their volunteering any remarks on the vastly higher subject of the spiritual culture of the human mind, or the Georgics of the soul, as it might be called." In one case the moderator of the presbytery, having duly summoned a meeting on the market day, could not himself be found to preside until it was reported that he had been seen among the crowd gazing at the tricks of a vagrant mountebank. The one evangelical member of that body charged

him with the shameful forgetfulness, but the majority hushed up the proceedings at a time when the daily newspaper was unknown. In another case Dr. Duff happened to succeed, in the guest chamber of the manse, a minister who was notorious for Unitarian views. The parish was ringing with the story, how he had surprised all by first delivering a communion address surcharged with the evangelicalism of the Puritans, and then, when suddenly called to fill a vacant place in the long services, had preached a discourse of the most repulsively cold heresy. On inquiry it was discovered that he had compiled from the "Marrowmen," whom he despised, an address suited to evangelical congregations, and which alone he was wont to speak on such occasions.

But for reminiscences such as those of Dr. Duff it would be incredible to what extent not only heterodoxy but profanity, intemperance, and other immorality found a place among the moderate ministers in rural districts, especially in the Highlands and islands to which public opinion never penetrated. Many of them, among themselves, avowed theological opinions contrary to the Confession of Faith, the contract on which they claimed to hold their livings. At the upper end of a long strath in the Highlands lived a parish minister who was scarcely ever known to be sober. Business took him frequently to the other end of the valley, where he had to pass a distillery. It was the frequent sport of the owner to tempt the poor wretch, and then, placing him on his pony with his head to the tail, send him back amid the derision of the whole people, a man supporting him on either side. Another parish was a preserve of smugglers, whose rendezvous was the kirk, where the little barrels of Highland whisky were concentrated before despatch to the south. The isolated spot was the terror of the

gaugers, for whom the hardy inhabitants, banded together, were long more than a match. A new minister was presented to the parish, a man of great promise and considerable scholarship. His one weakness was a passion for the violin. Through that he fell so low, that when his parishioners assembled at the inn they sent for the minister to play to them, and even carried him off when well drunk to a house of doubtful repute where the revelry was continued. On one occasion he fell into the peat fire, where his limbs became so roasted that for six months he was laid aside and he was lamed for life. His brethren resented the scandal only by refusing to allow him to attend the presbytery dinner, and by denying him all help at communion seasons. Brooding over these insults, he resolved to adopt that form of retaliation which would be most disagreeable to colleagues some of whom differed from himself only by being greater hypocrites. He sent to the neighbouring cities for the most evangelical Gaelic ministers to assist him on fast and sacrament days. The result was that the smuggling parish became not only a new place, such as all the success of the excise could never have made it, but the centre of light to the whole presbytery. The people flocked from a great distance to hear the grand preaching in their own tongue. The drunkard's successor, appointed under the Veto Act, was a godly man, and when the disruption came the whole parish left the Established Church.

When farther north still, Dr. Duff found himself the inhabitant of a room in the manse which was curiously stained. On asking an explanation he was told that, as the most secure place, the attics had long been the storehouse of the smugglers of Hollands and small sacks of salt. So soon as the brig appeared in the harbour of Stromness, with flying colours, the minister at the beginning of the century promptly went on

board. Even if the day were Sunday he would go in the face of all the people, before or after doing pulpit duty! The manse had been built for the purpose of receiving the contraband articles, which were hoisted up by a pulley swung to a hook projecting from a window in the high-pointed gable. The plaster of the roof below was saturated with salt, which appeared in moist weather.

Dr. Duff's investigations in Ayrshire found results hardly more satisfactory than in the Highlands and the Scandinavian islands. His familiarity with the poems of Robert Burns, and knowledge of the use which had been made of their finer strains by the young Hindoo reformers of Bengal, led him to make very minute inquiries of some of the older men who had had personal intercourse with the poet. They assured him that Burns was often blamed for caricaturing sacred things when, in truth, he was giving a most vivid description of sad reality. A man of Burns's pious training, knowledge of the Bible and exceeding acuteness, could not fail to be struck with the marked contrast between Christianity as expressed in the creed and in the life of a great body of the ministers and people. "Having thrown off the fear of man, and alas! to some extent the fear of God," remarked Dr. Duff, "Robert Burns satirised this state of things in their gross literality with all faithfulness. Hence not a few who were godly men declared to me their conviction that the description given in 'The Holy Fair' of scenes at the administration of the Lord's Supper was not exaggerated; and the same was asserted of some of what were reckoned his more objectionable minor poems. Oh! what these ministers have to answer for at the Day of Judgment. The mischief they did by lapsing into gross errors in doctrine, and more than loose practices in life, is incredible." To the end of his life

Dr. Duff held this to be the true explanation, founding alike on his own recollections in the present century, and on those of older men as to that which preceded it.

The mass of the common people, who did not turn for spiritual life to the seceding churches which now form the vigorous United Presbyterian Church, found it in the study of the Bible and of writers like Rutherford and Boston, Bunyan and Doddridge. But this degeneracy of the Kirk had affected the upper classes of society in a way incredible in these days of a healthy public opinion. The literature of the time, scanty though it be, reveals not a little of the truth. Dr. Duff met with this typical illustration of one form of the evil on a journey from Perth to Pitlochrie by the Inverness coach. In the darkness he could not see them, but he could not help hearing the conversation of the three occupants whom he joined. The talk was of the Peninsular War, led by a Highland officer who had passed through its campaigns. The interest of the really striking information given by him was, however, marred by his habit of adding an oath to every two or three words, and not unfrequently by expressions of licentiousness as well as profanity. Should he interpose? was a question long debated by Dr. Duff. Ignorant who his companions might be, and whether in a stage coach the end might not be worse than the beginning, he resolved to wait till daylight and the first stoppage. On arriving at Pitlochrie the young missionary asked the officer to speak to him privately for a moment on the road. Dr. Duff began by saying that he had been profoundly interested by many of the remarkable statements respecting the Peninsular War, a confession which seemed to gratify his companion. He could not, moreover, from the tone and tenor of their con-

versation all the night, but come to the conclusion that the person who had given so much novel information was, beyond question, a born gentleman. As a gentleman he must know that it was contrary to the ordinary rules of courtesy to say anything which, even unintentionally, might be very offensive to another. He, the officer, might have formed, in his youth, habits which were now contrary to the usages of polite society. One of these was what is ordinarily called profane swearing, which was at one time considered to give zest to earnest conversation. Dr. Duff, being an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland, was sure that the officer would excuse him for remarking that many of the words interspersed in the narratives of the war grated with something more than harshness on his ear, and for thus unburdening his own mind and conscience privately to him who had thoughtlessly used them. On this the officer took him by the hand, warmly thanked him for his delicacy and faithfulness, admitted that he had never looked on swearing in that light, and regretted that no one had before spoken to him in that way. Without committing himself to a pledge on the subject he promised to ponder the gentle reproof. When, some time afterwards, Dr. Duff was at Kingussie manse on the way south from Inverness, he learned that his companion of that night was a well-known landholder of the neighbourhood, and that a somewhat sudden change in his habits of speech and church-going had attracted attention. We may add to this another illustration, of even greater boldness, on the part of the young assistant surgeon from Aberdeen, who was on Sir Charles Napier's staff in Sindh. His at first timid remonstrance with the Commander-in-Chief, whose constant companion he was officially forced to be for many weeks, led the veteran to overwhelm him with a torrent of

renewed oaths, followed by a most touching apology, though not, we fear, by any permanent reform.

Nor were the southern visitors to the Highlands in these early days any better than the moderate ministers whose kirks they rarely entered. Sir Robert Peel and a party of his friends had leased the shootings around Kingussie. To most of them all days were alike for sport. The peasantry, finding themselves in a sore strait between their duty to their conscience and the temptations held out by the Sunday sportsmen, waited on their minister with entreaties for advice. He at once wrote to Sir Robert Peel a letter, read by Dr. Duff, which acknowledged all the kindness of the great statesman to the people, and asked him to respect their conscientious convictions. A week passed and no reply came. But on the next Sabbath the practical answer was given when, somewhat late, Sir Robert and his whole party took possession of the great pew belonging to the estate they had leased. On the next day the minister received a long and kindly letter from the Premier, declaring that it was he who should apologise for not ascertaining his duty to the people, and expressing a wish that all clergymen would act with similar faithfulness.

Such reminiscences of his study of the inner life of the Church of Scotland, bad and good, lighting up his intimate knowledge of its history and his sympathy with the spiritual and civil patriotism of its people, made the disruption when it came a very real and joyous event to Dr. Duff, though far away from all its controversies and its triumphs. His enthusiasm burst forth the more impetuously that, for three years in India as during the five which he had spent in Europe, he had maintained an unbroken silence on the great spiritual-independence controversy. The chivalrous honour of the man prevented him from making any

allusion to it in his official correspondence. Nor was Dr. Brunton, on the other side, less thoughtful. Neither could arrest the issue; so long as that was doubtful or had not been precipitated by Providence, it might have been perilous for either to link to a temporary struggle, however great, the abiding principles of catholic missions to the non-Christian world. They would have been less than men if, in the intimacy of private correspondence, such sentences as the following had not occurred. But from first to last, and in every detail save the very serious questions of rights of property, legal and equitable as between Christian brethren, no controversy in all church history has ever been conducted so free from the spirit condemned by Christ and His Apostles, as the missionary side of the Disruption of 1843. After Dr. Duff's return to Calcutta in 1840 Dr. Brunton thus confidentially wrote to him on the 2nd April: "Your clerical friends are well; as well, at least, as Non-Intrusion fever will allow. The excitation and the embitterment are by no means abating. Government declines to attempt any legislative measure. Lord Aberdeen has given notice of one without saying what it is to be. Matters are getting more and more embroiled. Oh that peace were breathed into the troubled elements by Him who 'still-eth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves and the tumult of the people.' Amidst the other lamentable consequences of this turmoil it swallows up every other interest in some of our fairest and purest minds, and the sweet call to missionary enterprise is too passionless to gain a hearing, where once it was pleasant music. Send us better tidings from the lands of the South than we can transmit to you from this dwelling of storms." By 28th January, 1843, Dr. Brunton wrote of "the really appalling schism in the Church which seems now inevitable, and which may

most lamentably affect all her great and glorious 'schemes.' May God avert it! In man there is now no help or hope."

So rigorously did Dr. Duff carry out his official duty to the committee and his sense of what was best for the Mission, that when his most intimate friends privately pressed him to say how he would act in the event of an actual disruption, he told them why he could not reply to such a question. What Lord Cockburn calls "the heroism" of the 18th May, which made Francis Jeffrey declare that he was "proud of his country," was not officially intimated to the fourteen Indian missionaries till October. Not till the end of July had the preliminary letters from Dr. Brunton, and from Dr. Charles J. Brown representing the Free Church, reached them, declaring that each Church was determined to carry on the Foreign and Jewish Missions. Dr. Brunton wrote: "We are most anxious to retain the co-operation of those whom we have found experimentally so thoroughly qualified for their work and so devoted to its prosecution. We earnestly hope, therefore, that you will see it to be consistent with your sense of duty to remain in that connection with us, which to us, in the past, has been a source of so much satisfaction and thankfulness. I write to you collectively, not individually, because we have no wish that personal considerations should influence your decision." Dr. Chalmers was not present at the meeting of the provisional committee of the Free Church, for which Dr. C. J. Brown wrote the letter, which thus delicately concluded: "The committee do not of course presume to enter into discussion with you on the subject, or to say one word as to the course which you may feel it right to follow." To that Chalmers added this postscript, "I state my confident belief that, notwithstanding the engrossment of our affairs at

home, the cause of all our missions will prove as dear, and be as liberally supported as ever by the people of Scotland." With such faith, in such a spirit, did the second Knox and his band of 470, soon increased to 730 and now to some 1,100 ministers, commit their Church to extension abroad no less than at home. In this respect the third Reformation was more truly Christ's than the second or the first.

The joyful adherence of all the Eastern and Jewish missionaries and their converts, in contrast to the East India Company's Presbyterian chaplains,—the eager response of every one of the fourteen sent to the peoples of India, from Dr. Wilson then in Jerusalem, to Mr. Anderson in Madras, and Dr. Duff in Bengal, was added to complete the spiritual sacrifice, as well as the moral heroism, and to give a new stimulus to what Lord Cockburn called "the magnificent sacrifices which, year after year, showed the strong sincerity and genuine Scotticism of the principles on which the movement had depended." The words, in 1834, of Dr. Inglis, the founder of the Kirk's India Mission, were lighted up with a new and universal meaning, in the far East as in little Scotland. "The kingdom of Christ is not only spiritual but independent; no earthly government has a right to overrule or control it."

For himself alone, Dr. Duff published an "Explanatory Statement, addressed to the friends of the India Mission of the Church of Scotland, as it existed previous to the Disruption in May, 1843." This passage takes up the narrative at the reception of the official appeals from Dr. Brunton and Dr. Charles Brown.

"We were now laid under a double necessity openly to avow our sentiments. Was there any hesitation when the hour of trial came? None whatsoever. So far as concerned my own mind, the simple truth is,

that as regards the great principles contended for by the friends and champions of the Free Church, I never was troubled with the crossing of a doubt or the shadow of a suspicion. In earliest youth these principles were imbibed from the 'Cloud of Witnesses,' and other kindred works. And time and mature reflection, wholly undisturbed by the heats and collisions of party warfare, only tended to strengthen my conviction of their scriptural character, and to rivet the persuasion of their paramount importance to the spiritual interests of man. But though there was not a moment's hesitation as to the rectitude of the principles, and consequent obligation in determining the path of duty, there was a sore conflict of natural feeling,—a desperate struggle of opposing natural interests. Many of my dearest and most devoted personal friends still adhered to the Establishment; and I could not but foresee how ecclesiastical separation might lead to coolness, coolness to indifference, and indifference to eventual alienation; and that heart must be colder and deader than mine, that could, without a thought and without an emotion, contemplate such an issue. All the most vivid associations connected with my original appointment,—the ardours and imaginings of inexperienced youth,—the exciting hopes and fears inseparable from an untried and hazardous enterprise,—anxieties felt and removed,—trials encountered, difficulties overcome, and success attained,—were all indissolubly linked with the Established Church of Scotland. The revered projector of the Mission, Dr. Inglis, and his respected successor, Dr. Brunton, had, each in his turn, throughout the long period of *fourteen* years, treated me rather with the consideration, the tenderness, and the confidence of a father towards his son, than with the formal but polite courtesies of a mere official relationship. When

I looked at the noble fabric of the General Assembly's Institution, so very spacious and commodious, and so richly provided with library, apparatus, and all other needful furniture; and recalled to remembrance the former days, when we had to toil and labour in close, confined, and unhealthy localities, without the aid of library or apparatus, and with but a scanty and ill-favoured assortment even of the necessary class-books, and thought of the reiterated statements and explanations, appeals and pleadings, disappointments and long delays, ere such a fabric had reared its head as an additional architectural ornament to the metropolis of British India; and when, along with all this, I reflected on the high probability, or rather moral certainty, that separation from the Establishment must be followed by an evacuation of the present Mission premises, I could not help feeling a pang somewhat akin to that of parting with a favourite child. Again, when I looked at the still nobler fabric within,—a fabric, of which the other was but the material tenement,—the living fabric, consisting of so many hundreds of the finest and most promising of India's sons, beaming with the smiles of awakening intelligence, and sparkling with the buoyancy of virgin hopes; when I considered this fabric, so closely compacted through the varied gradations of an all-comprehending system, that embraced the extremes of the lowest rudimental elements and the highest collegiate erudition,—a system so intricate, and yet so orderly,—so multifarious in its details, and yet so harmonious in its workings, scope, and ends,—a system, whose organization, discipline, and progressive development, it had required thirteen years of combined and incessant labour to bring to the present point of maturity and perfectness; and when I thought how, in the present crisis of things, separation from the Establish-

ment might prove the dissolution and breaking up of the whole into scattered fragments ; I could not help experiencing a sensation somewhat equivalent to that of beholding a numerous and beloved family engulfed in the deep, or swallowed up by an earthquake. Once more, when I thought of the doubtful and inadequate prospect of our support in the new relationship of a Free Church Mission, the anxious doubts and fears expressed on that head in private communications from home, owing to the tremendous pressure on the liberalities of the Christian people, for the urgencies of their own immediate wants,—the loss and alienation of many of the great and the mighty, who hitherto had smiled propitious on our labours,—the disadvantage and disparagement to our credit, cause, and good name, which might accrue from our abandonment of premises with which had been associated so much of what was reputable and successful in our past proceedings,—the certainty that, by numbers of the more bigoted natives, such forced abandonment would be construed as a retributive visitation from the gods, on account of our persevering attacks on their faith and worship,—the confusion and disgrace which might thus, in their estimation, redound to Christianity itself, and the corresponding triumph to an exulting heathenism,—the dread of anticipated rivalries and collisions between the agents of Churches so violently wrenched asunder, and the scandal and stumbling-block which these might occasion or throw in the way of the struggling cause of a yet infantile evangelization ; —when I thought of all this, and much more of a similar character, it seemed as if a thousand voices kept ringing in my ears, saying, ‘ Pause, pause ; cling to the Establishment, and if you do so, you will advance, without interruption, in the gorgeous vessel of Church and State, which so majestically ploughs

the waves over a sea of troubles.' In opposition to such a muster and array of antagonist influences, what had I to confront? Nought but the blazing apprehension of the truth and reality of the principles at issue,—their truth and reality in Jehovah's infallible oracles,—their truth and reality in the standards, constitution, and history of the Church of Scotland,—nought but the burning monitions of conscience, relative to the morally compulsive obligation of walking in the path of apprehended duty. It seemed as if a thousand counter-voices kept pealing in my ears, loud as the sound of great thunders, or the noise of many waters, saying, 'Let pride or prejudice, self-interest or natural feeling, be allowed to obscure the apprehension of truth, or stifle the directive energy of conscience; and then, though your dwelling be in the palaces of state, and your refuge the munition of rocks, there will be inward misgivings, that ever and anon shall cause the heart to melt, the hands to be feeble, the spirit to faint, and the knees to be weak as water. But, be fully persuaded in your own mind. Let no sinister influences be suffered to interfere. Let the apprehension of truth, derived from the Fount of Revelation, be steadfast and unclouded, and the beckonings of conscience, illumined by the Word, meditation, and prayer be unreluctantly recognised and implicitly followed; and then may you stand erect in your integrity, undaunted and unmoved, though the earth should rend underneath your feet, and the rolling heavens overhead should rush into annihilation.' With views and sentiments like these, however powerful might be the counter-inducements, how could I decide otherwise than I have done? though, certainly, the existence of such powerful counter-inducements ought to stamp the decision with the unmistakeable character of honesty and conscientiousness.

“Doubtless, had I yielded to those alluring worldly temptations, which were chiefly on one side; or had I allowed carnal considerations of any kind to prevail against the sense of duty and the clear dictates of conscience, there were many plausible ready-made pretexts on which I might fall back,—many open-gated refuges into which I might retire, in order to palliate my tergiversation, screen my inconsistency from public view, conceal from others, and perhaps from myself, the secret actuating motives, and operate as a soporific on the troublesome mementoes of the inward monitor. But however convenient such a course might be for a season,—however soothing and flattering to the cravings of the natural man, how could it elude the piercing scrutiny of the all-seeing eye, or stand in arrest of judgment at the bar of the Great Assize?”

On the 10th August, the five Bengal missionaries of the Church of Scotland united in a despatch to both Dr. Brunton and Dr. Gordon, forwarding eight resolutions in which they declared their reasons for adhering to “the Free Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland,” as Christian men and ministers. The resolutions were drawn up, we believe, by the youngest of their number, Dr. T. Smith. They issued to the public of India a joint “explanatory statement,” clear, judicial and full of Christian charity without compromise. Denied by Dr. Charles their right, before disruption, to meet in kirk-session of which three missionaries were members and were the majority, they formed a provisional church committee, which held the first public service of the Free Church in Calcutta, in Freemasons’ Hall, on the 13th August. Dr. Duff preached the sermon, afterwards published, and announced that the Rev. John Macdonald would, in addition to his daily missionary duties, act as minister

till the congregation could call a pastor from Scotland. A missionary character was given to the congregation from the first by the baptism of the convert Behari Lal Singh.

Up to this day the five missionaries stood alone. But the Christian society of the metropolis and of many an isolated station in the interior was being profoundly moved. The earliest sign of the movement—which only repeated that in Scotland on a proportionate scale but in a far more catholic manner than was possible there—was a letter to Dr. Duff from the first physician in India. Who that knew him—what young official or merchant who was friendless and tempted, especially, did not love Simon Nicolson? “I have been silent about your Church disruption till now, but I have watched it and you, and, with my wife and daughter, I cast in my lot with you. Your ordinary supplies will be stopped, but you must not let one of your operations collapse. Here is a cheque for Rs. 5,000, and more will follow when you give me a hint.” Such was the substance of the first communication, and from a countryman. The next came from Mr. Justice Hawkins, of the supreme court of appeal, then known as the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, but since amalgamated with the High Court of Judicature. He offered not only other aid but himself. The ten years’ conflict had led him to see the necessity of spiritual independence and equality in the priesthood of all believing members of Christ’s Church, lay and teaching, and so he left the Church of England. Another English judge, Mr. Macleod Wylie, not only accompanied him but published a treatise to justify his action, under the title, “Can I Continue a Member of the Church of England?” which was answered by a scholarly chaplain, Mr. Quartley, to whose pamphlet Dr. T. Smith published a rejoinder. When, on Thursday, the 24th August, a

public meeting of the adherents of the Free Church was called, it was found that nearly the whole of the elders and a majority of the members of St. Andrew's Kirk, representing all classes in the English and Eurasian communities, had thrown in their lot with the houseless missionaries. To them and the physician and judges already mentioned there were added as the executive or financial committee, Mr. A. B. Mackintosh, who still plans generous things for the Free Church; Messrs. James Calder Stewart, Robert Rose, D. Maccallum, W. Nichol, and M. Macleod.

But where was a church to be found? Dr. Duff went so far as to apply to Lord Ellenborough's government for the temporary use of a hall belonging to it, and used very frequently for dancing assemblies, but the authorities evaded the request by professing inability to understand the nature of the case. Then it was that the Eurasian committee offered the hall of their Doveton College to a man who had done so much for them. Six lay elders and six deacons were duly elected by the congregation, who at once prepared for the erection of a proper ecclesiastical building. After some five thousand pounds had been spent in rearing that designed by Captain Goodwyn, of the Engineers, it fell down the night before it was to be entered for worship. Undismayed the members erected, at a total cost of some twelve thousand pounds, the present church, which so good an authority as the late Bishop Cotton pronounced the prettiest in Calcutta. Closely allied with the Mission, feeding it with money and fed by it with men, the Calcutta Free Church has in the past thirty-five years enjoyed the ministratioon of the Revs. Mr. Mackail, Mr. J. Milne (of Perth), Mr. Pourie, Mr. Don (now of King Williamstown), and Mr. W. Milne (of Auchterarder). The members, averaging a hundred in number, have raised, in that

period £106,500, an example of the Christian power of a practical voluntarism in its way even more remarkable than that of Free St. George's, Edinburgh, with its ten thousand a year.

This church laid on Dr. Duff, as senior missionary, the congenial duty of giving "some public exposition of the principles and grounds of separation from the Established Church of Scotland and of adherence to the Free Church of Scotland." To hear his four lectures on the sole and supreme headship of the Lord Jesus Christ over His own Church, the town-hall was filled. Under the title of "A Voice from the Ganges," the published lectures attracted great attention, and the volume has recently been cited, on both sides of the patronage controversy, by Sir Henry Moncreiff and others. In the light of the legislation of 1874, the latest of the blind steps of a party majority in Parliament towards a reconstructed Kirk of Scotland, these introductory words of Dr. Duff read like prediction :

"The 'powers that be,' quitting their own proper functions and province, have, with what looks like the infatuation of judicial blindness, confederated against 'the Lord and His anointed.' They have gained a temporary triumph. They have filled the land with their pæans and their songs. They securely calculated on a permanent ascendancy. Though there be signs enough in the heaven above and on the earth below to rebuke their temerity, they still dream of empty visions. Despite all reminiscences of the past, all monitions of the present, all ominous presages of the future, they still cling with doating fondness to the delusive hope that they have set and fastened the very key-stone of conservative policy, while they have only effectually sapped and undermined one of the main pillars on which it ought to rest. They meant, honestly perhaps, to uphold, whereas they have only successfully destroyed ;—and not only destroyed, but succeeded in laying a combustible train which shall issue in results as much above their power to arrest as it was beyond their forecasting sagacity to foresee. Already has the influence of their great exploit extended to

other and far distant lands. Already has it begun to be felt on the banks of the Ganges. Nor is it likely to pause in its onward career till, with the prints and footsteps of its presence, it has permeated the globe.

“Such being the momentous nature of the recent struggle between Church and State in Scotland, and such the magnitude of its present and prospective consequences, is it not incumbent on every reflecting mind to inquire more minutely into the nature and character of the *principles* on account of which the unequal contest has so long been maintained? These principles, it will be found, are not of mushroom growth, neither are they of yesterday. They are not of local, provincial, or national import merely; neither are they of fleeting, ephemeral, perishable concern. No: they have been of old from the beginning; the range of their operation is coextensive with the globe; and the period of their duration runs parallel with eternity. Neither let it be supposed that the intrinsic value or grandeur of the principles is to be estimated by the apparent insignificance of the chosen battle-field. It is not the remoteness, the narrowness, or the barrenness of local territory that constitutes the criterion of greatness in respect to high-toned principle, or moral force, or spiritual truth. On the arid plain of Marathon, and beneath the rugged cliffs of Thermopylæ, the heroic patriotism of one or two petty principalities of Greece earned for itself laurels, which have since inflamed the hearts of thousands, wherever the march of civilization has reached. On the isolated and bleak shores of Iona, was achieved a conquest over ignorance and barbarism, which diffused its quickening influence over neighbouring states and far distant realms. In the obscure village of Wittemberg was fought ‘the good fight,’ which silenced the thunders of the Vatican, shook the sceptre from the right arm of civil and religious tyranny, liberated the human mind from the prison-house of ages, and lighted a flame in the citadel and temple of truth which shall yet illumine the world. And has not this earth—the globe itself which we inhabit—whose comparative unimportance in the high scale of the Almighty’s workmanship is such that, by its annihilation, ‘the universe at large would suffer as little, in its splendour and variety, as the verdure and sublime magnitude of a forest would suffer by the fall of a single leaf’—has not this little speck, amid the statelier worlds

that bestrew the fields of immensity, been selected as the scene of the most stupendous of all conflicts—the conflict between the Prince of Light and the potentates of darkness—the conflict in whose mighty issues the flag of mercy was hung from the cross of satisfied justice, and the horrors of perdition exchanged for the hallelujahs of eternal joy?

“Nor has Scotland been heretofore unhonoured as the field for determining the strength of antagonist principles fraught with the weal or the woe of nations. There, the ambition of all-grasping Rome first fairly grappled with the passion of patriotism; and there was she first most effectually taught that the ‘love of hearth and home’ could inspire the poorest possessors of the sternest and wildest of lands, with a spirit and energy that were more than a match for her invincible legions. There was her lordly aristocratic neighbour of the South at length constrained to learn, that the genuine spirit of liberty and independence could outlive the wear and tear of whole centuries of oppression; and, ever and anon, rallying into fresh vigour, could humble in the dust the pride and flower of all her chivalry. Thus roughly cradled amid the storms, and nurtured amid the tempests of troubled life, the character of the Scottish people grew up into a robustness and hardihood, and their principles of action into a tenacity of sinewy strength, that could not brook the touch of foreign tyranny.”

From the spiritual kingship of Christ over the soul of every individual believer, through Bible revelation, Church annals and Scottish history, Dr. Duff traced the conflict between Erastian Cæsarism and the independence of the spiritual man or church in purely spiritual things. He did not spare either the learning or the law of Lord Brougham, whose antecedents he thus showed to have coloured the decision which he gave against the liberties of the people, in the highest appeal court:—“Truth requires that it should be told, that it is to the bitter, rancorous, and inveterate hostility of the eccentric and not very consistent ex-Chancellor Brougham, that the new, unheard of and adverse decisions of the House of Lords against

the claims of the Church of Scotland are mainly to be attributed. With him aversion and opposition to the Evangelical party in the Church and their Non-intrusion principles would appear to be natural and hereditary. His own grandfather, by the mother's side, (a Mr. Sym) was a minister of the Church of Scotland, forcibly intruded on a reluctant people by the bayonets of the soldiery, amid confusion, riot and bloodshed. The entire population of the parish deserted the church in a body. Poor Mr. Sym became merely the 'stipend-lifter' of the parish, having secured the fleece but scarcely one of the flock. Officiating, as he was legally obliged to do, every Sabbath, but finding nothing except bare walls and empty benches, and being apparently after all a man of some sensibility, he died, after a year or two, of a broken heart. At the time of his forcible ordination by a few wild men, imported for that worthy purpose, as a special commission, from the 'holy land' of Moderatism, Aberdeenshire, there was only one friend present to countenance the lawless scene—designated in the record of the day's proceedings '*a* Mr. William Robertson, minister of Gladsmuir.' This was the gentleman who afterwards became Principal Robertson, the celebrated historian and leader of the Moderate party. Mr. Sym, soon after his forced settlement, married Mr. Robertson's sister. When he, shortly after, died, he left a widow and infant daughter. This only child and niece of Principal Robertson subsequently married Mr. Brougham, and thus became the mother of Lord Brougham. No wonder though he should be so enamoured of a cause so dear to his grand-uncle and grandfather! No wonder though he should manifest such repugnance to a cause which so preyed on the spirits of the latter as to cost him his life!"

The radical *Westminster Review*, of all periodicals, when vindicating the Free Church in those controversial days, thus completes the story:—"The morning of the 30th of May, 1751, saw the churchyard of the parish of Torphichen thronged with rustics in their Sabbath clothes. With sorrow and indignation they were to witness the settlement of a pastor over them in the teeth of their continued and universal opposition. A cavalcade of merry clergymen came riding up headed by Mr. William Robertson, the minister of Gladsmuir. He was a man about thirty, with a countenance which he has transmitted to his descendant Lord Brougham—altogether an active, keen, bright look. The cavalcade of clergymen were flanked and surrounded by a troop of dragoons. As the troopers and parsons dashed among the people, tradition says, Captain Hamilton, of Westport, drew his sword, and shouted, 'What! won't ye receive the gospel? I'll swap off the head o' ony man that 'll no (receive the gospel).' Thus did William Robertson proceed to bestow the spiritual office. Many years elapse. He is the chief of the Kirk. He has won the crown of history. Writing to Gibbon in his days of celebrity, he gives the clue to his conduct when the dragoon-heading intruder at Torphichen. We find Principal Robertson the chief of the Kirk, congratulating the historian of the 'Decline and Fall' on his skilful management of superstition and bigotry in his chapters on Christianity. He thus gives us a glimpse of the moral theory of which the Torphichen intrusion was the application. The congratulation to Gibbon, and the dragoon ordination, were only the abstract and the concrete of the same thing."

There have been more descriptions than one of the great day in the history of Scotland, by eyewitnesses, from opposite points of view, like Dr. Norman Macleod,

Dr. Buchanan and Lord Jeffrey. This is Dr. Duff's, in the town-hall of Calcutta :

“ At length, the memorable day—the 18th of May, 1843,—a day much to be remembered in the annals of Scotland, arrived. For days before, there was a mustering and a gathering of forces to the metropolis. The general outward aspect of things is changed. A strange and ominous foreboding seizes and occupies the minds of men. All look grave, solemn, austere, meditative. Riot is banished from the streets ; mirth is silent at the festive board ; the voice of music and of song is touched with an air of plaintive melody. Everything betokens the approach of some mighty movement, the awful hour of some grand catastrophe. The church of St. Andrews—the national saint of Scotland in days of popish idolatry—is specially fitted up for the occasion. Thither the marshalled forces resort. There they assemble in battle array. The antagonist principles, which convulsed the nation, and were now to rend the Church asunder, were there, embodied in the appropriate forms of the servants of Christ and the servants of Cæsar. The house is divided into two. Look first at the side of worldly dignity and honour. Behold that brilliant spectacle with its dazzling throng. A visible throne is there, with its purple canopy. The Royal Commissioner is there—the visible representative of British majesty. The nobles of the land, the proud wearers of stars, swords, and coronets, are there, with their faithful satellites, joyously basking in borrowed radiance, and eager to do homage to the rising star and sensible symbol of earthly royalty. All things are there, fitted to allure the carnal eye, and fill and satisfy the carnal heart. Then turn to the other side. No visible throne is there ; no marks or signs of earthly royalty are there ; no gorgeous drapery is there ; no obtrusive display of armorial devices is there ; no shining emblems of the ancient lineage and feudal pedigree are there ;—nought is there, fitted to attract the carnal eye or fill and satisfy the carnal heart. But, to the eye of faith, before which the invisible is revealed and the distant realized as present, there are transcendent glories manifested there. *There*, is He Who holdeth the seven stars in His right hand, and Who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks. Faith at once recognises Him, Who is fairer than the sons of men—the chief

among ten thousand and altogether lovely. Faith at once hails and proclaims Him King of Zion, King of glory, King of saints. His servants are there, His chosen servants who fought the good fight, and, in many a battle-field, were ready to die rather than suffer the lustre of His crown to be tarnished or the glory of His sovereignty to be eclipsed. And all the faithful of the land are there,—in winged prayers that have sped to heaven and returned, swifter than the sunbeam, laden with blessing. And holy angels are there, as ministering spirits, hovering over the scene with outstretched wings, in admiring complacency. All things are ready. The time, the hour, the decisive moment is come. To the National Established Church of Scotland, in the persons of her chosen delegates, the final question is substantially put—put, in the face of the nation, in the face of Christendom, in the face of the world;—Which of the two great antagonist principles is to prevail?—the power of faith, or the power of sense—the love of heaven, or the love of earth—fealty to Christ, or fealty to Cæsar—the honour and prerogative of Zion's King, or the exaltation of Zion's sacrilegious spoiler—the freedom and independence of the Church, the Redeemer's immaculate spouse, or its unconditional surrender and submission, at the lordly dictation of a usurping foreign power?

“A deep and thrilling pause ensues. At length, the representative voice of the faithful, through their appointed organ, is heard in accents that bespeak the majesty of principle and of truth:—Faith hath triumphed over sense; heaven over earth; Christ over Cæsar. From this hour we sever our connection with the State, as that connection can no longer be maintained without a surrender of the prerogatives of our Great Head, and all the blood-bought rights and liberties of His ministers and people. But these we cannot, we dare not surrender. They are not ours to give; but His, whose they are by inalienable right of eternal covenant. In order to maintain these sacredly inviolate, we hereby renounce our status, our honours, and other civil advantages—our homes, and incomes, and earthly all. In order to maintain these inviolate, we now separate ourselves,—not from the Church of Scotland as a true Church of Christ,—for her sound scriptural standards we still revere, and her simple and noble scriptural constitution we still admire,—but from the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Scotland,

as now degraded and enslaved by the State. And from this house, in which the prerogatives of our Great Head, and the rights and privileges of His members have been ignominiously trodden in the dust, we go forth as freemen of the Lord—free citizens of the freest Commonwealth on earth—joyfully to do homage to our glorious King, seated, in unrivalled supremacy, on the ancient throne of His own kingdom and free dominion. So saying, forth proceeded, amid the solemn silence and unbroken stillness, that indicate the mighty throb and swell of inward emotion, too big for utterance ;—forth proceeded, from the desecrated and desolated sanctuary of an Establishment, once the nation's chiefest glory and renown ;—forth proceeded, the representatives of Scotland's piety and Scotland's patriotism—the representatives of Scotland's covenanted faith and Scotland's moral worth—the representatives of Scotland's unshaken loyalty to Zion's King, and Scotland's undying attachment to Zion's cause ;—forth they proceeded, amid the brightest gleams and sunshine of heavenly favour and the richest showers of heavenly blessing ;—forth they proceeded, to lay the foundation—firm and indestructible as the Rock of Ages on which it is based—the foundation of one of the noblest edifices of any age or nation—the foundation of THE FREE PROTESTING CHURCH OF SCOTLAND."

The effect of the Disruption on the India Mission was, from the very first, to more than double its efficiency, and the reaction of the Mission on the Church of Scotland Free was most blessed. As the first convener, Dr. Gordon, reported, the new yet old Mission started with only £327 in its treasury, but full of faith and power. Dr. Candlish, in May, 1843, declared, when moving the appointment of the new committee, "I trust that the foreign scheme of our protesting Church will be upheld and maintained with even increased efficiency notwithstanding the demand for funds for our home operations, and that we will give proof to the Christian world, and even to the ungodly world, of the soundness of that maxim referred to by our Moderator, that home and foreign missionary associa-

tions mutually act and react on one another; and that the very increase of the sum received for our home operations will be the pledge of a large increase in the fund available for foreign missions. It would ill become me to bestow any panegyric on the godly men whom the Lord has shut up in that field of foreign missions. I believe that I may very safely concur in the expressions of confidence which fell from my friend and brother Mr. Guthrie, that we may reckon on having all the missionaries adhering to our protesting Church. At all events, it will be our duty to record, in reference to the missionaries in India, substantially what we have recorded in reference to the missionaries to the Jews, that the Assembly continue to keep in their present offices all the missionaries who shall adhere to the protesting Church of Scotland. . . . We shall thus, I trust, if we cannot serve ourselves heirs to the accumulated wealth of the committee of the old Establishment, serve ourselves heirs to what is far more valuable than their wealth,—to the men whom God has raised up for this holy work, to the means of prosecuting that work, so far as these depend on the liberality which God puts into the heart of His people, and to the instrumentality by which the zeal of our people has mainly kept up the regular periodical issue of information on this subject.”

Dr. P. Macfarlan, seconding Dr. Candlish, stated that “there was not one of the schemes of the Church which had awakened more interest than this, an interest which had been to a great extent produced by the ardour and devotedness of Dr. Duff. Indeed it was singular, in the course of the doings of Divine providence, that the circumstance which rendered Dr. Duff’s presence necessary in this country, viz., the effects of the hot climate upon his constitution, should have been the means of producing such an incalculable amount of good.”

Not only did the fourteen missionaries announce their personal devotion to the Free Church, but, knowing the demands on the home resources, they declared their conviction that funds might be raised in India for the three new colleges. This led the Church at home to announce, in the first annual appeal for congregational collections : " We concur with them in thinking that much will probably be done, by generous officers and civilians, whose Christian zeal and devotedness will only lead them to feel a deeper interest in the cause when its former supports may seem to be weakened; for, thank God ! there has been a revival of pure religion among not a few of the European residents, and we should have little fear of the result, were the care of our present institutions devolved on the army alone. But when we consider that these Institutions require to be indefinitely extended, if they are to exert any influence on the general mind of India, and that probably the buildings, which have hitherto afforded at once a suitable residence and a commodious scene of labour to our missionaries, may be alienated to other parties, we feel that redoubled energy is necessary at home, in addition to all the aid which can reasonably be expected from abroad, if we would maintain and carry on the great work which has been so auspiciously begun."

The result was a sum of £6,402 that year, which steadily rose to £32,000 in Scotland alone thirty years after, and, on Dr. Duff's death, reached the total sum of £535,000, or about three quarters of a million sterling, if the revenue abroad, in India, Africa, and the South Pacific, be added. The Free Church of Scotland would have been unworthy of her principles and of the men who, in the far East, loyally sacrificed themselves for her, if she had not started and advanced as a Missionary Church, however far short of

a high ideal she may be conscious that she still falls. For, after all, it is rather a humiliating fact that the whole sum of £560,000 given by her for foreign missions in thirty-six years does not equal that raised by her for all purposes every year.

With the consent of both parties the Calcutta missionaries continued their work in the Institution and mission-house built and furnished by themselves, to the close of the session of 1843. But what then? There were two easy solutions of the difficulty. Morally, equitably, the whole belonged to Dr. Duff and his colleagues, who had called it into existence. The college, its library and scientific apparatus, were the fruit of personal legacies and gifts made to Dr. Duff himself chiefly, and on the express understanding that he was to use the funds as he pleased. His letters to Dr. Ewart and Mrs. Briggs, and the account of the funds raised by himself or pressed on his acceptance at home, illustrate this.* The Christian, the honourable, the gentlemanly solution was that first proposed by Dr. Duff, Dr. Wilson and the Free Church committee, that the old missionaries should continue their work, purchasing back from the Established Church the premises which were morally their own, if required; and that that Church, desiring to begin a new mission, should break fresh ground in the neglected cities of Upper India, whence it would have been ready to take possession for Christ of Sindh, the Punjâb, and Central Asia. In his first official communication to Dr. Brunton, Dr. Gordon thus wrote of the buildings in Bengal; the same was true of Bombay. In Madras there was no difficulty, for the missionaries there only rented college rooms:—

“Those at Calcutta we believe to be legally at the

* Vol. i., pp. 371, 391, 465.

disposal of the General Assembly of the Establishment, but equity and a general regard to the interests of Christianity require that they should not be wrested from their present possessors. Should it be found that any of the contributors to their erection object to this arrangement, a pecuniary compensation could be made to the Establishment for the amount of their contributions. Any difficulty of this kind would be removed by the mode of settlement proposed by Dr. Duff, who thus writes to our committee on the subject:— ‘Every consideration leads us strongly to urge, through you, the propriety of purchasing, at a fair equivalent, the whole of the present premises. The Foreign Mission committee of the Establishment would find ample unoccupied territory elsewhere. The once imperial cities of Agra and Delhi have for years been pleading for an extended branch of our Mission. What a grand field would these present for missionary operations! For *new* men coming out, it must be all one whether they proceed to one place or another. They have languages, etc., to learn; and the acquisition of these, whether in Calcutta, or Agra, or elsewhere, must be attended with the same difficulty. It is altogether different with those who have a local experience, and an acquaintance with local dialects, etc. Besides, it would wear the aspect of magnanimity were those who may plead legal rights to this property to dispose of it on friendly and equitable terms, for the sake of more widely diffusing the treasures of knowledge and the glad tidings of salvation over this vast and superstition-ridden land.’ ”

Time, which has brought not only the forgetfulness, by a new generation, of the animosities inseparable from the events of 1843, but the public and legislative confession by the Established Church in 1874 that it was wrong in upholding the proximate cause of the

Disruption, has developed such co-operation by the two Churches in India and Africa at least, that we may be sure the men of this day would have gladly conceded the equitable settlement, the denial of which created a painful scandal then. For were not these the days of church-site refusals, of congregations forced to worship below high-water mark and under winter snows, of social and personal persecution, of lawsuits and dissensions, which would be incredible now were they not the too well attested evidence of the fact that of all hatreds the *odium ecclesiasticum* is the worst?

The Established Church committee, in an evil moment for themselves and the cause of truth and charity, put forward a "Mr. Thomas Scott, auditor of accounts, etc.," to answer Dr. Duff's statement as to the funds given to the missionary personally and used by him, at his own discretion, for site, buildings, library, and apparatus. On the lowest ground the case was one in which no one could know so much as Dr. Duff himself. All the figures were on record, and the result was seen in the whole Mission property; but Mr. Thomas Scott had not even been the treasurer who worked with Dr. Duff in the financial statement. Yet from sheer weakness and ignorance the Established committee allowed Mr. Thomas Scott, in their name, to attack the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, in the September number (1844) of its official *Record*. The refusal of the committee to act equitably had, in truth, raised such an outcry of remonstrance from all the Evangelical Churches that it felt bound to make some defence. Save for the miserable controversy thus forced on the Church, which had at once retired from even the ground of Christian equity when it saw insult added to injury, we do not regret a circumstance which called forth Dr. Duff's reply. In eighty octavo pages, "put in type in order to facilitate

the transmission of copies by post, but not published," he disposed of Mr. Thomas Scott and his ignorances or misrepresentations, in a style which makes the pamphlet a rare contribution to cryptic literature. Rare, not merely for the moral and logical extinction of the official assailant, nor even for the gleams of autobiographic fact and humour in the history of the different funds, but for the magnanimous charity which robbed the whole of every sting, while a righteous resentment and holy indignation for his cause burned high. Apart from legacies and sums pressed on Dr. Duff for his private or family use, all of which he had poured into the Mission treasury, we may give this one case as an illustration of the nature of the funds in dispute:—

"With Colonel Wilson and his excellent sisters I happened to be on terms of intimate friendship. Individuals of more kindly disposition and more benevolent hearts it has seldom been my lot to meet with. The Colonel had much to keep him in vivid remembrance of India. He was one of the British officers, who, under the mandate of the celebrated Hyder Ali, for upwards of two years lay in chains in the dungeons of Seringapatam. There were, moreover, other ties which still continued strongly to bind him to that distant land. He had repeatedly spoken to me about a special private commission, which he had set his heart on my executing for him on my return thither. As the period of my departure approached, he forwarded to me the requisite materials for its execution; and, at or about the same time, he sent me the larger of the two donations—giving me to understand that his placing such a sum entirely at my disposal was intended not merely as a mark of personal respect and esteem, but also as a slight token of gratitude for what I had so cheerfully undertaken (and what in point of fact I was subsequently enabled) to accomplish on his account.

* * * * *

"Again, as to the argument for retaining certain funds on the ground that they had been 'granted by the people of Scotland to the earnest personal pleadings' of the justly venerated Dr. Inglis,—if it be at all valid on the one side, it must

be equally valid on the other. If it be really valid for retaining funds granted to the personal pleadings of one individual, representing one class of sentiments, it must be equally valid for restoring funds that were granted to the personal pleadings of other individuals, representing another and totally different class of sentiments. On a matter of this kind delicacy forbids one to speak out; otherwise, how easy would it be to show that the funds granted, directly or indirectly, by the people of Scotland, to the earnest personal pleadings of the writer of these remarks, were, to say the least, not inferior in amount to those granted to the earnest personal pleadings of his revered father and friend.

“ But I am done with the painful subject, I hope for ever. What I have written has been extorted from me in self-vindication and self-defence. My sole object has been to set myself right with the Church of Christ, and even with the reasonable portion of the world at large, respecting matters of fact that affect character and integrity. Rather than provoke a quarrel or prolong a controversy on the subject, I at once, freely and for ever, relinquish all claim to any portion of the library and apparatus attached to the General Assembly’s Institution,—however strong in moral equity I may still feel, and continue to feel, that claim to be. Indeed, could I have anticipated the manner in which the claim has been met, it never would have been advanced at all. But such was my estimate of the character of the managing body at home, that I fondly hoped that a gentle hint as to the nature of the claim would have sufficed to have led to a reasonable and voluntary concession on their part—founded on a broad catholic, generous and magnanimous view of the entire circumstances of the case. That the result has proved so contrary deeply grieves me—not so much on account of the loss which we incur, as on account of the loss which the cause of Christ is apt to sustain by the exhibition of such a controversy in the sight of the heathen. May the Lord in His great mercy overrule the entire occurrence for good! As to our immediate loss, I am much mistaken if there is not a spirit of life and liberality abroad among the Christian people of India, Scotland, England, and Ireland that shall very soon repair it—yea, perhaps, repair it so thoroughly, that our latter end, like that of the patient sufferer in the land of Uz, shall be better than the beginning. Time will show.

* * * * *

"In many things, heretofore, I may have erred and come short. I may have erred in feeling; I may have erred in motive; I may have erred in judgment; I may have erred in over-zeal, not in regard to the great cause itself for which I pined—for who could be over-zealous in pleading for the temporal and eternal interests of a hundred and thirty millions of perishing idolaters?—but I may have erred in over-zeal for particular modes and methods of promoting the cause, or for the independent possession of particular means and instrumentalities towards its more effective and successful promotion. And if in these, or such-like, or in any other respects I may have erred, either through ignorance or otherwise, I again cast myself, without qualification or reserve, on the sovereign mercy of my God, in the atoning sacrifice and justifying righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the sanctifying influences of the almighty Spirit of all grace;—praying the Lord most fervently to forgive me freely these and all other sins and shortcomings whatsoever,—yea, and, in the plenitude of His 'unsearchable riches of grace,' so to illumine the understanding, renew the heart, and strengthen every power and faculty of the regenerated soul, that I may so err, so sin and so come short no more!

"I do feel humbled and confounded to think that I should have been necessitated to devote so much of all valuable time to the elucidation of a theme so sterile and so profitless. Surrounded as I am by millions of poor blinded idolaters, to whom, as to all others, life is so short and uncertain and the redemption of the soul so inestimably precious, it is with shame and unfeigned sorrow that, for a cause so intrinsically worthless, I have found myself called on, more especially by the agent of a missionary committee, to divert so much of time and thought and exertion from any of my evangelistic labours amongst them. Were any one at this moment to offer me, in free gift, a library and apparatus, of ten times or tenfold ten times the extent of those now in debate, under the contingent condition of its possibly entailing, some years hence, half the loss of time and vexation of spirit which, from first to last, has been incurred by the present wretched and unedifying discussion, I would fling the offer with loathing indignation away from me. Perish, would I say, perish for ever your library and apparatus, rather than that the Arch-enemy of souls should again have it in his power to convert them into an enginery for wasting the

local financial board to purchase it in order to meet the wants of the increasing number of students and converts. The price was £3,500. On receiving a legacy of £1,000 he added this to the Dundas gift, and solicited the consent of Lord Auckland himself to the sale of the land for that sum, but the proposal had first to be sanctioned by the Court of Directors. By the time that the deed of conveyance was ready, the Disruption controversy was approaching a close. Mr. Macleod Wylie, the barrister, who wrote a pamphlet on "The Scotch Law of Patronage and the recent Secession," proving the Free Church right in law as in Scripture, advised Dr. Duff to keep the deed in his own name, the property being his own, until the issue of the conflict became clear. This he had done, and on this spacious open ground he might, naturally and most conveniently, have erected the new college. But he was too much of a Christian and a gentleman to do what might even seem, to Hindoo and Christian, a violation of that law of love which the 'residuary' committee, as it was called, had scorned. In the very reply to Mr. Thomas Scott he heaped coals of fire on its head by volunteering the explanation—"It is not intended to have any portion of this ground occupied for carrying on the missionary operations of the Free Church. Sufficiently ample it is, and most healthfully and favourably situated for the erection of a new Institution and Mission-house. But its proximity to the old Mission premises has determined us not so to appropriate it; that we may thereby prove to the world that, on our part at least, we are not actuated by vindictive or retaliatory motives, or animated by a spirit of hostile rivalry. It will either be let or resold, and the proceeds, either way, will be wholly and exclusively applied to missionary purposes."

The new Mission-house was erected there long after,

and its very proximity to the old house enabled Dr. Duff to hold most friendly intercourse with so gentle and earnest a missionary as Dr. Ogilvie, whom the Church of Scotland sent up from Madras there to represent it. Thus was the controversial bitterness of the Western Kirk deprived of its evil results in the eyes of the young converts and the watchful heathen.

The whole college vacation of 1843-44, extended to two months, was spent by the missionaries in exploring every nook and corner of the native city for a site and a temporary home. The renown of the Disruption sacrifice, which had gone out through all lands, had in India been increased by the decision to evict the missionaries from their college, even though they offered to purchase their own, very much as Carey and the Serampore brethren had been compelled to do in similarly indefensible circumstances. From all sides, Hindoo as well as Christian, Anglican and Congregationalist as well as Presbyterian, in America no less than in Asia and Europe, came expressions and proofs of indignant sympathy. This refers to the assistance of "W. Muir, Esq., Futtehpore," now Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I. :

"CALCUTTA, 4th October, 1843.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I beg most gratefully to acknowledge your very handsome boon to our Free Church. Your note accompanying it, though short, was sweet and refreshing. One pregnant expression dropped from the lips of one of God's own children, has in it a consolation beyond all gold and silver. I know that your heart is with every good cause; and I really believe that, however unworthy we may be, ours is one of the best of causes. It is the cause of Christ—the sole and supreme head of His Church—redeemed and ransomed by His precious blood. In case you might desire further information as to our movement, I

send you two or three pamphlets. We have many difficulties to contend with, but many friends to lend a helping hand; and, above all, many comforts of God's Holy Spirit to animate and sustain us. Our duty is to persevere in the work of the Lord, and leave all results with Him. The day of India's illumination *will* yet dawn, and the light shall be glorious. That is enough for us, whether we are privileged to see it or not.—Yours very gratefully,

ALEXANDER DUFF."

The year 1844 opened with spontaneous gifts amounting to £3,400. The Protestant missionaries of Calcutta united in this catholic address.

"To the Rev. A. Duff, D.D., W. S. Mackay, D. Ewart, J. Macdonald and T. Smith, Missionaries of the Scottish Mission in Calcutta.

"DEAR BRETHREN,—We, the undersigned members of the missionary body in Calcutta, owing to events which have occurred in Scotland, and the decision at which you have felt it your duty to arrive on the matters in debate, are apprehensive that your connection with missionary operations in Calcutta generally, and especially your connection with the Institution founded by one of your number, and matured and presided over by you all, may be materially affected,—and desire to express our sympathy with you under the peculiar circumstances in which you are placed, and our hope that your labours may be still continued in a sphere in which they have been so eminently useful.

"While, as a missionary body, attached to different sections of the Church, and conscientiously differing as to the principles which have led to those events, we refrain from offering any opinion upon them, we yet can and do reiterate the expression of our conviction as to the expediency and desirableness of the continuance of your labours in Calcutta and in the sphere which you have hitherto occupied.

"We feel that it is both natural and equitable, that the harvest should be reaped and enjoyed by those who have broken up the fallow ground, and according to their views of Chris-

tian duty have diligently and faithfully sowed the seed of the kingdom of God for so many years. Nor are we unapprehensive that, should others, however well qualified, enter into your labours, the harvest, owing to their lack of experience and their necessary want of acquaintance with the language and habits of the people, would be considerably diminished, and the affections of many whose minds have by you been made familiar with the nature, doctrines, and precepts of Christianity, materially alienated from Christian influence,—a consummation which we are confident no Christian, whatever might be his views on other subjects, can contemplate with indifference.

“Irrespective of your labours in connection with the Institution and other direct operations of the Scottish Mission, we should exceedingly regret anything that might remove you from a sphere in which your influence and co-operation with others, under the blessing of Christ, have so eminently subserved the catholic purposes of our holy faith, both in Calcutta and India generally.

“With regard to the momentous subject which has occasioned this communication, our prayer is, that all parties may be led to adopt the measures most conducive to the glory of our blessed Lord, and the extension of His kingdom.—We are, dear brethren, yours in the bond of the Gospel,

“(Signed) W. YATES, Baptist Missionary.

A. LESLIE, Do.

J. THOMAS, Do.

J. BROOKS, General Baptist Missionary.

WM. MORTON, London Missionary Society.

G. PEARCE, Baptist Missionary Society.

JAMES PATERSON, London Missionary Society.

W. W. EVANS, Baptist Missionary Society.

G. SMALL, Do.

JAMES INNES, Church Missionary Society.

JAMES LONG, Do.

J. F. OSBORN, Do.

JNO. CAMPBELL, London Missionary Society.

THOS. BOAZ, Do.

R. DE RODT, Do.

J. WENGER, Baptist Missionary Society.

C. C. ARATOON, Do.”

Archdeacon Dealtry, about to become the second Bishop of Madras, though a dignitary of the other Established Church, was even more emphatic, on the higher ground of a wrong done to the whole Catholic Church.

The hunt for a college building, aided and sympathised in by good men of all creeds, concentrated itself on one place. In obtaining that Dr. Duff was helped by an orthodox Hindoo, the father of the most distinguished medical Bengalee, Rai Kanye Lal Dey Bahadoor, who has given us this account of it: "There was one house in Neemtollah street which was sufficiently commodious for the accommodation of an institution like the Free Church Institution, but it was in an untenable condition, the joint owners thereof were not agreed among themselves and they had no mind to let the house for the use of a college. He knew a native gentleman, Rai Radhanath Dey Bahadoor, a man of note in his time as a deputy collector. Dr. Duff, if he liked, could have sent for him in order to confer with him on the subject of the house with the owners of which he was in relationship. But no; he personally waited upon the Baboo from day to day in order to prevail upon him to use his interest with the proprietors to let the house on a long lease. The gentleman in question was himself a public-spirited man, and though an orthodox Hindoo he felt that in employing his humble services in this case he would be serving his country. He therefore heartily responded to the great missionary's desire, and succeeded in his intercession with the proprietors, Baboo Pran Kissen Sen and Brothers, to let the house, well known as that of the late Baboo Mothur Mohun Sen, to the Free Church missionaries. The terms offered were rather favourable to both the parties, which were the payment of a rent of Rs. 200 per month, and the defrayal of

the whole expense of a thorough repair at a heavy outlay involving additions and alterations."

Here on the 4th March, 1844, the General Assembly's Institution of the Free Church of Scotland met for the first time, and here it grew till on an adjoining site the present fine college was reared. There were the same missionaries, the same staff of teachers and monitors, the same converts to begin with, and more than a thousand students and pupils. The spacious hall, erst devoted to idol revelries, became the common place of worship of the living God in Christ. The shrine of the family image received the gallery class of children, who there learned to spell out the words of the Divine Teacher. From all parts of Eastern India and Scotland friends sent supplies of books for the new library. Dr. Mackay, who had built his usual observatory on the roof, was gladdened by the donation of a Herschel ten-foot telescope from the son of Dr. Stewart, of Moulin memory.

Dr. Duff's letters to Dr. Gordon, after reporting the tedious search and protracted negotiations which ended in success, thus broke forth on the 17th February, 1844, as he, doubtless, remembered the flash of the torch in the Tummel: "Never was there a happier or truer key-note struck than that with which Dr. Chalmers ushered in the ever memorable convocation, when he started with the text, 'Unto the upright there ariseth light in darkness.'" Even when in the depths of the darkness, he had faith and genius to form the scheme of a new chair of missions and education in the Free Church, of which he lived to procure the endowment and to be himself the first Professor :

" CALCUTTA, *January 20th*, 1844.

" MY DEAR DR. GORDON,—Your truly welcome letter of October last was received in time last month to

acknowledge its receipt by the Government express. As I expected, it diffused great joy and gladness among all our friends. The promptitude, hearty goodwill and animating cheerfulness,—the unwavering faith in a covenant-keeping God, and the humble reliance on a gracious Providence indicated by its contents, tended mightily to invigorate our own spirits, and strengthen our hands, amid the changes, the discomforts and the inconveniences to which the recent disruption necessarily subjected us. We do render praise and thanks unto the Lord, for having put it into the hearts of our brethren and fathers at home to take up our cause,—the cause of poor, degraded, heathen India,—the cause of a hundred and thirty millions of perishing idolaters,—the cause of the Redeemer Himself, Who yet ‘shall see of the travail of His soul’ among these benighted millions, and be satisfied,—to take up this great and glorious cause, with such warmth and energy and holy zeal. It is a refreshing token for good; yea, it is a pledge and earnest of prosperity and ultimate success. When, during the spring of last year, I received many letters from friends on both sides of the Church, all to the effect that, in the event of a disruption, those who seceded would have so much to do in making provision for their own spiritual wants that it would not be possible for them to take up the cause of foreign missions, I could not but feel alarmed at the bare possibility of such an issue. That it would be so I could not bring myself to believe. Still, the declarations made to me on this head were very strong and very baffling. In spite of the most positive assurances to the contrary, I had a secret, instinctive, irresistible persuasion that the thing was morally impossible. Thanks be to God that the event has so triumphantly proved it to be so! The prominence given to the missionary cause at home and abroad, and the bold

trumpet note with which its claims have been sounded forth, proclaim that the Free Church of Scotland has started for the right goal, and in the right direction; and that having done so, she is destined to advance, with accelerative force, in the vigorous discharge of all the functions and duties of a true Church of Christ. May the Lord Himself watch over and guide her onward career!

“Connected with this subject, allow me to hint that a new professorship in the Free Church College, of missions and education, would tend mightily to impart life, energy, wisdom and consistency to all her missionary and educational schemes, domestic and foreign. So far as I know, it would be the first professorship of the kind that has ever been established, and would tend more than anything else to stamp the Free Church as the introducer of a new era in the history of this world’s christianization. I have purposely conjoined ‘missions and education,’ as both united would comprehend a discussion of the best modes of imparting all useful knowledge, human and divine, to old and young, of all classes and of all climes, founded on the constitution of the human mind, history and experience, and, above all, the Word of God.

“We also desire to acknowledge the overruling providence of God, in the circumstance that our dear friend and brother, and fellow-labourer in the Lord, Dr. Wilson of Bombay, was enabled to be present to address the second General Assembly of the Free Church. And we desire to bless God for the strength vouchsafed to him on that occasion.”

CHAPTER XVII.

1844-1848.

CONTINUITY OF THE WORK.

The Rural Stations.—The Story of Bansberia.—Missionary Brotherhood.—Sir James Outram and the Sindh Prize-money.—Sir Henry Lawrence.—Reorganization of the Mission Completed.—Conversions and their Relative Value in Christianizing different Classes.—The Seven Baptisms.—The Native City again moved. Rival Hindoo College taught by Jesuits.—The True Zanana Teaching.—The "Pilgrim's Progress" in Bengalee.—Successful Vindication of the Rights of Conscience.—The Cry of "Hindooism in Danger" Renewed.—The Government Propagating Secularism.—Intolerance of the Hindoo Priestly and Wealthy Families.—More Baptisms.—Dr. Duff's Life Threatened.—His Intrepid Reply "to the Native Gentlemen of Calcutta."—Necessity for a Home, Church, and Manse for the Converts.—Life in Dr. Duff's Family.—Charge to the Four Free Church Catechists.—Mrs. Colin Mackenzie and the Rev. Goluk Nath.—Mercantile Failures in Calcutta.—Epistle from the General Assembly to the Converts.—Dr. Duff's Share in the First Jubilee of the Church Missionary Society.

HAVING thus founded and organized his second college, the Free Church General Assembly's Institution, Dr. Duff's next care was for the branch schools by which the educated catechists and converts were evangelizing the rural districts. Takee, the first, was the property of the Chowdery clan of Hindoo landholders. They too remained faithful to their alliance with Dr. Duff. To secure a healthier position in which European missionaries like Mr. Fyfe could live without serious risk, they removed the school from the somewhat inaccessible rice swamps to their town residence in Baranuggur, a northern suburb of Calcutta, now known for its jute factories and industrial prosperity. The Established

Church claimed the new station of Ghospara for the congregation of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, who had supported Mahendra and Kailas, the native missionaries there. But Culna, being in a different position, was retained by Dr. Duff and his colleagues as their second rural station. In succession, as the Mission grew in resources and ordained converts, Bansberia, Chinsurah, and Mahanad were added in Lower Bengal, while, long after, the south-eastern districts of the Santal country were taken possession of as a base from which to evangelize the non-Aryan and aboriginal tribes.

The story of Bansberia illustrates the enthusiasm with which, not only in Calcutta, but to the farthest confines of India, good men, in the army and the civil service, sought to mark their sympathy with the Free Church Mission. On being driven from Ghospara, where the two ablest converts had begun a mission among the new sect of the Kharta-bhajas, or worshippers of the Creator, with such promise, Dr. Duff resolved to seek for a settlement in another county. Not even the natural irritation caused by the discussion of questions of property, in which equity was set at defiance, tempted him for one moment to dream of rivalry in a field so vast as that covered by the sixty millions of rural Bengal. He crossed the river Hooghly to its right bank, leaving the whole country on the left to the Established Church. A few miles to the north of the county town of Hooghly district, between that and Culna, he discovered the school-house of the Brumho Somaj, of Calcutta, closed and for sale. Dwarkanath Tagore, the successor of Rammohun Roy, had died in England, and his son was unable to maintain the educational work of the sect. The perpetual lease of the grounds as well as the large bungalow was purchased by Dr. Duff, whose first object it was to erect substantial buildings for a Christian high school. For this

there were no funds since the expenditure at Ghospara. Attracted by the self-sacrifice of the missionaries on the Disruption, Mr. Lennox, of New York, and his two sisters, had sent £500 to Dr. Duff, who at once distributed it proportionately among Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Mr. Anderson and his colleagues refused the share allotted to them, on the ground of "the peculiar exigency and the local circumstances of the Calcutta Mission. Give us your prayers and keep the money; we have enough, my brother,—what is that between thee and us?" Such loving renunciation called forth this remark from Dr. Duff in a letter to Dr. Gordon:

"A finer exemplification of the genuine spirit that constitutes the bond of Christian brotherhood cannot well be conceived. How true it is that, in the spiritual body of Christ, if one of the members suffer all the other members suffer or sympathize with it. Distance of space and diversities of local interests are annihilated. The losses and difficulties of the Calcutta missionaries touched a chord in the hearts of three noble-minded Christians in the city of New York—in 'the far west.' Now, across the Atlantic and the intervening continents of Europe, Africa, and part of Asia, their seasonable bounty reached us. We at once resolved to share it in equal proportion with our brethren in Madras and Bombay. The former having not suffered in temporalities as we had, return their share, with their blessings and their prayers. Blessed reciprocation and interchange of Christian good offices, and Christian love! Shall we not magnify the name of the Lord, and pray more earnestly than ever for the spread and superabounding of a spirit such as this—not between members of the Free Church only, but between the true children of the living God in all Churches."

Soon the present fine college building of their own was to take the place of the hired house in Calcutta, and that would exhaust this and many other resources. There could be nothing for a new rural station like Bansberia till the central Institution was efficient.

It was Sir James, then Major, Outram who came to the rescue. The first Afghan war had been succeeded by the even greater mistake of the policy of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh. The man who had written, "We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful and humane piece of rascality it will be," received six thousand pounds as the General's portion of the prize-money. The Bombay officer who had protested against the 'rascality,' whose splendid administration of Sindh would have prevented war and secured a reformed country, had assigned to him three thousand pounds as his share. What was he to do with it? Though a Derbyshire man, three years older than Duff, as a great-grandson of Lord Pitmedden and a successful student of Marischal College, Aberdeen, Outram had watched the Scottish missionary's career with admiration. The puzzled officer turned to him for counsel as to the disposal of the money; begging him in particular to ascertain privately if the Calcutta authorities would keep the three thousand pounds for the benefit of the injured Ameers. We may imagine the amazement, and indignation, of Lord Ellenborough at a proposal so simple, but so worthy of "the Bayard of India" and of the single-eyed missionary whom he had selected as his agent in so unique a transaction. The reply was, of course, a refusal, on the ground that the Ameers had been well provided for, and that the offer, if it became public, would have the worst political effect. The fact, accordingly, we learn now for the first time from Dr.

Duff's papers.* When he communicated the refusal, Outram replied: "Very well, it cannot be helped; I regard this prize simply as blood-money, and will not touch a farthing of it for my own personal use, but will distribute it among the philanthropic and religious charities of Bombay." Soon after this Sir James wrote to Dr. Duff saying that, after a wide distribution of what he called blood-money, there still remained Rs. 6,000, and he asked, "Have you any object on the banks of the Ganges to which this can profitably be applied?" Instantly Dr. Duff replied, "Oh, yes! I want an educational institution in a populous locality on the banks of the river in an excellent situation, and have been waiting a considerable time to secure the means of erecting a suitable building. Now singularly enough the minimum sum fixed on in my own mind was exactly Rs. 6,000, and if you approve the idea you may send that sum to me, and we shall commence at once the erection of the building." The Mission-house was erected, and has been a source of numberless blessings to the neighbourhood; from its pupils a goodly number of conversions have sprung with a wide diffusion of Christian knowledge. The building still perpetuates the political purity and English uprightness of Outram, who replied, "What a pity I did not know about this earlier, otherwise for such objects, of which I highly approve, you might have got the whole of the money." When next he visited Calcutta, where Lord Dalhousie saw in him a kindred spirit, he spent a Saturday in the Institution. The man whose courage as a soldier and a statesman rose almost to madness, stipulated that he should not be asked to make a speech. The resting-place in Westminster

* Sir Francis Outram has arranged for the preparation of a Memoir of his great father, by Sir Frederic Goldsmid.

Abbey, and the equestrian statues by Foley on the Thames Embankment and fronting the Calcutta Clubs, commemorate his victories in Persia and the relief of Lucknow. But let not the Sindh blood-money and Duff's Bansberia school be forgotten, though recorded not on living marble or enduring brass.

A greater man than even Outram, however, was from the first a generous ally of Dr. Duff. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had found Christ when a young lieutenant of artillery at Dum Dum, and who had established at Ferozepore the American Presbyterian Mission from which the invitation to united prayer first sounded forth in 1860 among all English-speaking races, used to spend his whole income, beyond a bare sustenance, on Christian philanthropy in India. Every year from 1844 till he concentrated his energies on the Hill Asylums for soldiers' children, he sent four hundred pounds to Mr. Marshman for distribution among Dr. Duff's, the Serampore, the Church Missionary and other societies. At the same time others, such as Dr. T. Smith and the writer, were his frequent almoners down to the day of his heroic death. On his way home, in 1847, he took part in the public examination of the Institution, a fact to which we find Dr. Duff thus referring at the time: "The Colonel Lawrence who assisted at the public examination is the same gentleman whose measures have been so wonderfully successful in pacifying the Punjâb. He is to accompany Lord Hardinge to England. For years past he has taken a warm interest in our Institution and its success, and has been a liberal contributor to its funds. In this and in other ways God is raising us up friends, even in high places; and to Him we desire to ascribe all the praise and the glory."

On his final return to India the year after, he and Outram, then seeking rest, hurriedly met in the dim-

ness of night in the desert of Suez, with impressions which Lady Lawrence thus recorded for her eldest son: "Our vans stopped; papa got out, and in the twilight had ten minutes' talk with Colonel Outram. There is much alike in their characters, but Colonel Outram has had peculiar opportunities of protesting against tyranny, and he has refused to enrich himself by ill-gotten gains. You cannot, my boy, understand the question about the conquest of Sindh by Sir Charles Napier; but I wish you to know that your parents consider it most unjust. Prize-money has been distributed to those concerned in the war. Colonel Outram, though a very poor man, would not take money which he did not think rightfully his, and distributed all his share in charity, giving £800 to the Hill Asylum at Kussowlie. I was glad, even in the dark, to shake hands with one whom I esteemed so highly."

Thus Dr. Duff and his colleagues organized the second Mission in and around Calcutta, and among the most densely peopled portions of rural Asia—the counties of Hooghly and Burdwan to the north-west. "Oh," he wrote to Dr. Gordon, "that we had the resources, in qualified agents and pecuniary means, with large, prayerful, faithful hearts, to wait on the Lord for His blessing, and then under the present impulse might we, in every considerable village and district of Bengal, establish vernacular and English seminaries, that might sow the seeds of divine truth in myriads of minds, and thus preoccupy them with principles hostile to ruinous error and favourable for the reception of saving knowledge. But to this end we would require not five hundred but fifty thousand for this Presidency alone. It looks like something utterly unattainable, yet the cost of one British vice for a single year—the annual sum expended on

ardent spirits, which destroy the bodies and the souls of thousands—would secure to us over fifty thousand schools!” Nearly thirty years were to pass before, in Bengal proper, the Government did its duty on the secular side, and the Mutiny called the Vernacular Christian Education Society into existence to supply Bible schools, trained teachers and a pure literature, all on too small a scale.

And now, as ever, Dr. Duff and all the Free Church of Scotland’s missionaries in its three colleges and many schools, laboured and prayed for immediate conversions as the sign and the fruit of the Spirit’s blessing on their patient sapping of the whole spiritual and social system of Brahmanism. Referring to the baptism of a student, which had temporarily emptied the college in Madras, Dr. Duff wrote: “It must never be forgotten, that, while the salvation of one soul may not *in itself* be more precious than that of another, there is a prodigious difference in the relative amount of practical value possessed by the conversion of individuals of different classes, as regards *its effect on society at large*. It is this consideration, duly weighed, which explains the immense relative importance of the conversions that have taken place in connection with our several Institutions at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The number has been comparatively small. But the amount of general influence excited thereby must not be estimated according to the number. The individuals converted have belonged to such classes and castes that the positive influence of their conversion in shaking Hindooism and convulsing Hindoo society has been vastly greater than it might have been if hundreds or even thousands of a different class or caste had been added to the Church of Christ. While therefore it is our duty to pray for immediate results, if the Lord will—to ‘attempt and

expect great things ' at His hands,—let us beware of being impatient. The Lord is working silently in the midst of us ; and when His time cometh He will make bare His holy arm for the salvation of multitudes. Meanwhile those occasional upheavings and convulsions which apparently retard the progress of His cause He sovereignly overrules for its ultimate furtherance." That was written in April, 1844. In July there came to Dr. Duff's house one Gobindo Chunder Das, who had been removed from the old Institution during a panic caused by the baptisms of 1839. For six years the truth wrestled with the lad, overthrew now his timidity and now his pride, and sent him to Dr. Duff under strong convictions of sin and a firm resolution to sacrifice all for Christ. After the usual persecution by his family and clan he was received into the church and became a useful teacher in the college. He was the first-fruit of the Free Church Mission as to his baptism, yet the change had been really originated in the old General Assembly's Institution. Every convert as well as every missionary thus maintained the continuity of the work which had begun in July, 1830, in the Chitpore road.

The conversion and baptism of young men of marked ability and high social or caste position now followed so fast on Gobindo's that, once again, the Brahmanical community of Calcutta was moved to its depths. The year 1845 opened with the public confession and admission of Gooroo Das Maitra, whom Dr. Duff gladly made over to the American Presbyterian Mission at Lahore, when the Punjâb became a British province soon after. There the Bengalee was ordained as a missionary minister. Thence he was long after "called," after the simple custom and ecclesiastical law of the spiritually independent Free Church, by the Bengalee Presbyterian Church in Calcutta, to be

their minister. To them, largely supporting him, he still devotes his life as preacher and pastor. At the same time Umesh Chunder Sirkar sought baptism. For two years the Bible teaching in the college had disturbed him, and had so drawn him towards Christ that his alarmed friends urged him to study Paine's writings. These completed his conviction of the divine truth of Christianity, and of his duty to profess that conviction openly by obeying Christ's command. But he was young, only sixteen. He longed to instruct and take over with him his child-wife of ten, and his father was a stern bigot, of great authority and influence as treasurer to the *millionnaire* Mullik family. For two years, therefore, the boy-husband and his wife searched the Scriptures diligently in the midnight hours snatched from sleep, when alone, in the crowd of a great Bengalee household, they could count on secrecy, though ever suspected. After much reading of the Bengalee Bible, Umesh Chunder taught her the Bengalee translation of the "Pilgrim's Progress." * Here was the true zanana teaching, the best form of female education, that which has rendered all subsequent progress under English-speaking ladies possible. When the wife of twelve read the opening description of Christian's flight from the City of Destruction, she exclaimed, "Is

* The greatest of human allegories has been translated into every principal Indian Vernacular. It has, in the East as in the West, proved to be the most popular Christian book next to the Bible. Mrs. Sherwood, wife of an Indian officer, and the well-known story-writer of the last generation, wrote, in English, a curious adaptation of it for the use of the natives, called "*The Indian Pilgrim* ; or, the Progress of the Pilgrim Nazarenee from the City of the Wrath of God to the City of Mount Zion." But that the genius of Bunyan has made his Dream as suitable to the Oriental as to the Western, without such tampering with it, is shown by the popularity of the "Pilgrim's Progress" even with non-Christian Asiatics.

not this exactly our condition? Are not we now lingering in the City of Destruction? Is it not our duty to act like Christian—to arise, forsake all, and flee for our lives?" On the next idol festival, when even Hindoo married women are allowed liberty enough to visit their female caste friends in neighbouring houses in closed palankeens, Umesh conducted his true-hearted little wife to Dr. Duff's house. The then deceased Mahendra had supplied the copy of Bunyan's "Pilgrim" which had thus been blessed, and the more recent convert, Jugadishwar, had assisted Umesh in the flight. They came to the missionary's house on the Sabbath afternoon, on the close of a prayer meeting which one of the elders of the Free Church congregation, Mr. J. C. Stewart, son of Dr. Stewart of Moulin, used to hold with the converts. "While meditating in my own closet on the ways of God," Dr. Duff wrote afterwards, "and wondering whether and in what way He might graciously interpose to deliver us from our distresses, suddenly Umesh, his wife and Jugadishwar appeared before me. It looked like the realization of a remarkable dream. 'The Lord be praised,' said I. What could I say less? His mercy endureth for ever. He had visited and holpen His servants."

Now began a tumult such as no previous case, not even Gopeenath's, had excited. Dr. Duff's house was literally besieged. The Mulliks as well as the Sirkars, both families or clans, and their Brahmans, beset the young man. They attempted violence, so that the gate was shut next day to all but the father, the brother, and the wealthy chief of the Mulliks. For days this went on, for the missionary would not deny to the new convert's family that which was the only weapon he claimed for Christ—persuasion. At last the scene changed to the Supreme Court. Choosing his time

when the court was rising for the day, the father's counsel moved for a writ of *habeas corpus* to be directed to Dr. Duff to produce Umesh Chunder, on the affidavit that the youth was only a little more than fourteen years of age, and was kept in illegal restraint. The Chief Justice himself was on the bench, and Mr. Macleod Wylie happened not to have left the court. Sir Lawrence Peel, worthy to be the cousin of a statesman like Sir Robert, knew that Dr. Duff would not exercise restraint of any kind. Suspecting the truth of the affidavit, he investigated the case at once, and the writ was refused. The youth was really above eighteen years of age. There was no question raised as to his wife. Both were baptized, while a crowd of the Mulliks' followers raged outside, and their chief and the convert's father declined to be witnesses of the solemn service. In Bengal at least this was "the first instance of a respectable Hindoo and his wife being both admitted at the same time, on a profession of their own faith, into the Church of Christ by baptism." And the husband had brought the wife into the one fold. So, after the presentation by Gopeenath and his wife of their boy for baptism, the creation of the Christian family in the very heart of Brahmanism became complete. Silently is the little leaven leavening the whole lump.

A week after, the tumult was repeated in the case of one who had been a student for eight years, and is now the Rev. Baikunta Nath Day, of Culna. He found refuge with Dr. Thomas Smith, then residing in the suburbs of Calcutta. Thence, in the missionary's absence, he was forcibly abducted, and was imprisoned, in chains, in a distant relative's house. Mr. Wylie obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, but it was found impossible to execute that, as happened about the same time in Dr. Wilson's case in Bombay. Meanwhile